

The Classical Bulletin

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Dog-Slaying at the Argive Sheep Festival

The slaying of dogs which was a feature of the Argive sheep festival called the 'Ἀγνίς or *Κυνοφόντις* was an attempt by the shepherds to reduce the depredations caused their flocks by sheep-killing dogs.

Preserved in the *Bibliotheca* of Photius are the fifty *Narrationes* of Conon, a mythographer living at the dawn of the Christian era. Number 19 relates the Argive legend of Linus, son of Apollo and Psamathe. Fearing the wrath of her father, Crotopus, Psamathe exposed her infant child, which was found and reared by a shepherd until one day his dogs tore the baby to pieces. By her passionate grief over this bereavement Psamathe revealed her secret to her father and he put her to death. In retaliation Apollo sent a pestilence, or, according to Pausanias (1.43.7), a monster named Poine, upon the Argives. The oracle bade them make atonement to Linus and his mother, which they did, instituting, among other rites, choruses of women and girls to bewail Linus. The Argive month in which the festival of Linus was held was called the Month of Sheep, 'Ἀγνείως, because Linus was reared among sheep. In the course of this month the Argives held "a sacrifice and festival, the 'Ἀγνίς, slaying on that day also whatever dogs they find" (Conon, *ap. FGrH* 1.196 Jacoby).

Athenaeus (3 p. 99E) confirms the dog-slaying in these terms: "... lest we too make a kind of dog-slaying (*Κυνοφόντις*) festival like the one performed among the Argives." Statius (*Theb.* 1.570-571) refers to the story and speaks of the rage of the dogs who tore Linus to pieces.

Conflicting Modern Interpretations

Welcker (*Kl. Schr.* 1.8-9) and Greve (Roscher, *Lex. s.v. Linos*) consider Linus a personification of vegetation which dies in the midsummer heat. His death, like that of Adonis, was mourned by women. The heat of summer is related to the dog-star, Sirius. Therefore dogs were sacrificed.

Mannhardt (*Antike Feld- und Waldkulte* 281-282) sees in Linus a divinity of the crops or the vine who dies at harvest time.

Nilsson (*Gr. Feste* 435-436) rejects these theories and calls Linus a very shadowy figure, who is merely the personification of the song; but he is deliberately non-committal on the origin of the name.

Rose (*Handb. Gk. Myth.* 200 and 224 n. 67) believes that the name stems from a word or words in

In this issue . . .

Dog-Slaying at the Argive Sheep Festival	Harris L. Russell 61
Horace, Serious Reformer	Mother Mercedes Bourgeois, R.S.C.J. 62
Thucydides on History As Philosophy	Herbert Sanborn 65
Archaeology Triumphant	Editorial 66
<i>Breviora</i> : Deaths among Classicists, III (page 69).	
Meetings of Classical Interest, III (page 69).	
Presenting a United Front (D. Herbert Abel, page 70).	Elections—APA-AIA (page 70).
<i>Book Reviews</i> : George E. Ganss, S.J., <i>Saint Ignatius' Idea of a Jesuit University</i> (William J. Ong, S.J., page 70).	Selatie Edgar Stout, <i>Scribe and Critic at Work in Pliny's Letters</i> (M. Joseph Costelloe, S.J., page 70).
P. Maurice Hill, <i>The Poems of Sappho</i> (William Charles Korfmacher, page 71).	
Index to Volume 31	71
Materials Available through the Office of THE CLASSICAL BULLETIN	72

a very old traditional song of harvesters and vintagers: *αἰλινοῦ* or *αἰ Λίνου*, perhaps from Phoenician *ai lanu*, "woe to us."

Nilsson (*Gr. Feste* 435-436) concludes that Linus is only externally connected with the festival, which was one of atonement and expiation, naturally featuring the slaying of dogs because in Greek cult the dog is ever an atonement sacrifice. The celebration was named the "Festival of Sheep," and the day it took place was called "Lambsday," because protection for the herd was invoked and because sheep and lambs were also sacrificed and eaten. Hence the date was not in midsummer but in the spring around Easter when lambs are born.

Farnell (*Greek Hero Cults* 28) asks why the dogs were killed or "offered to a shepherd-daimon who was probably incarnate in the lamb." He finds the hypothesis of a totemistic sacrifice inapplicable, and discredits the killing of dogs for the purpose of magical diminution of the heat of the dog-star, pointing out the unlikelihood of synchronization of an early-spring lamb festival and the late-summer dog days. Farnell (*ibid.* 29) suggests that "we might be content with the simple suggestion that the Argives offered dogs to Linos as a natural and valuable gift to a shepherd hero."

Proposed Utilitarian Explanation

Without wishing to enter into the controversial, utilitarian aspects of religious ritual, the present writer suggests that, on the basis of analogy with

sheep-raising in the United States, the dog-slaying feature, at least, of the Argive festival may well have had a baldly utilitarian purpose, an interpretation enhanced rather than disparaged by the very antiquity and rusticity of the celebration. Mr. E. A. Potter, the writer's uncle and for the past forty-six years a member of the Board of Assessors of the township of Collins, New York, in the course of communications on the subject of sheep-raising, stated that on one occasion involving the owner of a herd of less than two hundred sheep the Board of Assessors awarded the sheep-owner in excess of \$400 for damages done his flock by dogs in the course of a single night despite the owner's night-long, armed surveillance. Mr. Potter added: "Of course, most of the damage occurs in the months when the ground is free from snow and dry, when the sheep are running in the pasture, approximately from March to December."

Farmers' Bulletin no. 935 of the United States Department of Agriculture asserts that the sheep-killing dog is still recognized as the greatest enemy of the sheep-owner.

... Thousands of sheep are ruthlessly killed every year by dogs, causing a monetary loss to sheep-owners of well over a million dollars annually. . . . An investigation by the United States Department of Agriculture among sheep-owners in 15 states east of the Rocky Mountains shows that out of a total of 6,836,492 sheep in the 502 counties reporting there were 34,683 killed by dogs in one year. . . . But these figures are based only upon the number actually paid for, and it is more than probable that the true losses far exceed this. . . . After a dog has once formed the habit of killing sheep it seemingly becomes a mania with him and he is seldom if ever broken of it. He not only destroys sheep himself but leads other dogs to the work. Such dogs should be killed as soon as their habits are known.

Eastern sheep-raising has been cited because it is, in view of the smaller herds and more heavily populated areas, more similar to the Greek situation than the vast western ranches, although the same problem exists there.

In view of these facts may one not assume on the basis of the analogy that the dog-slaying feature of the festival at Argos was not primarily an atonement ritual at all, but a very practical and utilitarian expedient to rid the community of vicious dogs who preyed upon the flocks? The natural time for such a festival would be in the spring after the rainy season, when dogs roam more freely and when sheep, too, are in open pasture and graze widely, and when the new-born lambs furnish a vulnerable target for their canine predators.

While Linus himself has probably little or no bearing on the specific facet of the *'Agniς* under consideration, the writer *en passant* is inclined to agree with Nilsson and Rose that this figure is at best very tenuous and may well have derived from an early, formulaic expression employed in pastoral song, rehearsed quite appropriately by shepherds at a festival invoking protection for their flocks. As the di-

Horace, Serious Reformer

It is to Vergil and Horace that the Augustan era owes its rank among the great eras of poetry. In majestic epic strains and in lyrical song they perpetuated the glories of imperial Rome. Ideal aspirations and romantic memories stirred the heart of the Eternal City when they were still in the maturity of their powers and in the freshness of their inspiration.

Vergil's poetic insight visioned Italy's queenship among the nations; he was "spiritual, touched with doctrine, reverie, regrets, misgivings, consecration."¹ Horace was gifted with a many-sided versatility and a strong reflective vein. He understood the life of his time—its manners and humors, its gaiety on the surface, but also its deeper currents of serious feeling. To think of him as a mere painter of externals would be a real misconception. His poetry lacks Vergil's sustained dignity and contemplative aloofness but, with all his levity of character and changeable moods, he had a deep love for his country and an unshakeable belief in the endurance of her greatness.

Every reader of the odes is struck by the frequent reference to home and foreign politics. Yet Horace was not concerned with the details of government. Intrigues of ambition never disturbed his sunny Epicureanism. In one of his charming self-revelations he admits the following:

Septimus octavo proprior iam fugerit annus,
Ex quo Maecenas me coepit habere suorum
In numero, dumtaxat ad hoc, quem tollere raeda
Vellet iter faciens, et cui concedere nugas
Hoc genus: "Hora quota est?" "Thraex est Gallina
Syro par?"
"Matutina parum cautos iam frigora mordent;"
Et quae rimosa bene deponuntur in aure (*Sat.* 2.6.40-46).

This confidence was not seriously accepted by the public. It sustained his reputation: *Semper eruditior* (*Sat.* 2.6.54), and won increased admiration for such personal qualities as tact, reticence, and discretion. We too are justified in believing that the "super-politics" of Rome's life and welfare interested him profoundly.

In 44 B.C., with the world startled by the assassination of Julius Caesar, Horace was at Athens engaged in the study of literature and philosophy. Six months after the fateful ides of March he accepted a commission in the army of Brutus. But we know that he was not a doughty warrior. He tells us frankly that he shared in the general rout after the battle

vinity he may represent a subsequent, aetiological attempt to account for the *αἰλινος* formula by allegorizing the loss of sheep and lambs to dogs with the tale of an infant sheep god who suffered the same fate. The Dog Star and dog days seem to have no direct connection with the dog-slaying festival at all.

The University of Texas

Harris L. Russell

and left his shield ingloriously behind him (*Carm.* 2.7.9-12). This confession is in accordance with his habitual candor.

From the crucible of the terrible days following the civil wars he emerged chastened, fully conscious of the evils of those early struggles. Latin blood had been spilt to no purpose:

Audiet civis acuisse ferrum
Quo graves Persae melius perirent;
Audiet pugnas vitio parentum
Rara iuventus (*Carm.* 1.2.21-24).

The prestige of Rome had been shaken:

Quis non Latino sanguine pinguior
Campus sepulchris impia proelia
Testatur auditumque Medis
Hesperiae sonitum ruinae? (*Carm.* 2.1.29-32)

Horace in the Party of Octavian

The question was no longer how the old Roman constitution was to be restored, but how the country itself was to be saved from ruin. In common with many of his friends Horace began to attach himself whole heartedly to the party of Octavian. The current of events, the conspicuous ability and address of the prince, his relationship to Julius Caesar whom the populace hailed as divine, the malign influence exerted upon Antony by the fascinations of Cleopatra, pointed to the immediate blessings of imperial government—it seemed that Caesar alone could satisfy the yearnings of the people:

O quisque volet impias
Caedes et rabiem tollere civicam,
Si quaeret pater urbium
Subscribi statuis, indomitam audeat
Refrenare licentiam,
Clarus post genitis . . . (*Carm.* 3.24.25-30).

Had Horace become at once the panegyrist of the prince, the sincerity of his convictions might have been open to question; but at least thirteen years elapsed between the battle of Philippi and the second ode of the first book, which was his first direct acknowledgement of Octavian as the chief of the state. It glows with gratitude for the cessation of civil strife and for the skillful administration which could direct the fighting force of the empire to spread the glory of the Roman name. Sincerity of feeling is conspicuous in the odes of later days, and we can not doubt that his innermost feelings inspired the melody of his lyrical strains. "He had the justest sense of the true proportions of things. . . . He feels and expresses the spirit which might animate a patriotic statesman. . . ."²

The rapturous outburst of the ninth epode reflects popular enthusiasm over the battle of Actium, a victory of Roman traditions and of western institutions over the threatened invasion of Orientalism (21-38). The thirty-seventh ode of the first book is a paean of joy over Cleopatra's death. No epithet seems strong enough for her condemnation. *Fatale monstrum* (21) resounds with bitter scorn, and Horace's delight is unrestrained as he exposes the

defeat of her ambitious schemes. In the last stanzas, however, his contempt is mingled with reluctant admiration for the courage with which the Egyptian queen faced death (29-32).

Horace and Octavian Reforms

The great revival inaugurated by Octavian throws light upon the poet's national and religious attitude. "In the brave days of old" Rome had laid the foundations of civic virtue in the domestic circle. She had fostered intense religious devotion to the hearth and inculcated the ideals of dignity and self-control. But the day soon came when shame succeeded glory; weakness, strength; and vice supplanted virtue. Many causes had contributed to the decay of religion and morality, among them Hellenism. With its overmastering beauty Romans drank in its spirit of scepticism and irreverence. Yet from many points of view Stoicism also tended to undermine established beliefs and break through the barriers of rigid patriotism. The same process of disruption involved the national gods. Epicureanism denied that they had anything to do with the government of the Universe. The denial of the immortality of the soul also struck at the very roots of religion. Oriental cults had been gradually introduced, and they contained many repulsive elements whose detrimental effects upon character soon became apparent. The evil of luxury and the demoralization of society consequent upon the civil wars brought still further to decay the already crumbling edifice of the national religion.

Such was the condition of things when Octavian set himself to the task of reform. The supreme object of his labors was to drive home the lesson that Rome owed its greatness to the protection of the gods, that it could maintain its position of supremacy only by securing the *pax deorum*, that disaster would inevitably follow if their worship was neglected and if their temples were allowed to fall into ruin. As a complement to his religious revival, Octavian essayed an even more formidable task—the reform of morality. No doubt he hoped that he would find allies in the poets. How did Horace respond?

Horace's Enthusiasm for the Program

Whatever his personal religion, one may be sure that he sincerely believed in the "righteousness which exalteth a nation." His father had coupled sound moral instruction with his intellectual education.

When he enjoyed the intimacy of the best men of his day, he could look back to that influence as one of the happiest of his life. The exquisite tribute which he rendered to his father's worth affords sure evidence of the soundness of Horace's own heart and of the true metal out of which his character was tempered (*Sat.* 1.6.45-46, 65-92). Therefore he must

have realized fully that the corruption of his age called for a remedy—that it was at least good for the *profanum vulgus* to be taught reverence. He would swing his censer before the gods—he would assume the responsibilities of Rome's national and religious poet.

The first six odes of the third book are distinguished by unity of purpose and seriousness of tone not found elsewhere in his writings. In this remarkable series he soars far beyond his *aurea mediocritas*. The stately alcaic conveys sustained elevation of feeling, continuous volume of thought, action, and imagery. These odes were probably written "when the hopes of the new Empire were highest and its aims most ideal and while Horace himself was in the meridian of his lyrical inspiration. . . ."³

Seriousness in the "Roman Odes"

The opening stanza of the first ode (1-4) claims that a sacred office gives him the right to speak with authority. He gravely reminds his fellow countrymen that wealth alone does not confer happiness; that when they flee to other lands, they do not escape their own wretched selves; that they hold in reality the secret of the contentment within their own minds; that when the rich man goes on board his brazen trireme he has "Care" as a fellow passenger; and that wealth as it grows brings with it the inevitable burden of solicitude (25-40).

The spirit of the second ode is contained in the immortal line,

dulce et decorum est pro patria mori (13).

The third ode opens with the famous picture of the upright and constant man who is unmoved by the fury of the populace or by the raging elements—the fall of heaven itself would not shake him (1-8). These were the qualities which secured immortality for Pollux and Hercules, and Augustus, too, will be enrolled among the gods:

Quos inter Augustus recumbens
Purpureo bibet ore nectar (11-12).

From this reference we must not assume that Horace seriously believed in the divinity of Augustus. Popular credulity ascribed divine honors to great men, and altars and temples were dedicated to eminent statesmen and generals. With the seventeenth line the theme of the ode suddenly changes, and Juno's speech before the gods is reported: she prophesies world-wide empire for Rome on condition that her people keep themselves free from avarice and do not try to rebuild Ilium (17-44).

The stern and impressive warning regarding Troy is not mere rhetoric. Probably the true meaning is the one suggested by J. F. D'Alton:⁴ viewed in the light of Actium it seems to admit of a comparatively simple explanation:

. . . It sets up an impassable barrier between East and West, and guarantees the continuance of Roman power on one condition only—that the Romans shall not, through attachment to their origin, show honor to the country of their founder by rebuilding Troy and all that it stood for. It is a summons to Rome never to forget her national heritage, a proclamation that if union were ever attempted between the two civilizations national sentiment would rise up to forbid the banns. . . .

The fourth ode renews his pledge of loyalty and devotion to the Muses. Fancy more than actual memory draws a pleasant picture of his childhood, which emphasizes the special favor of the gods bestowed upon poets as upon those whose genius manifests the art of governing men (5-20). The deities mentioned are types of intelligence and light, of weight and dignity of character, of skill exercised with patience and energy. The religious symbolism completes the thought of Heaven's approval of the new empire. As Jove crushed the rebellion of the giants, so has the moderate and beneficent rule of the prince triumphed over anarchy and rebellion (41-68).

Exultation dies away in the fifth and sixth odes. Horace looks on vice with the severity of a later Tacitus and Juvenal, as he tries to rouse the public conscience. Allegory gives way to plain speech. The disgraceful defeat of Crassus is still unavenged! Has a Roman soldier so forgotten his birthright as to live under a Median king, married to a barbarian wife? (5.5-12) This was what Regulus foresaw when he opposed the ransoming of Roman soldiers captured by the Carthaginians. "No," he said, "let those who yielded die; will they be braver when brought back? No, let them stay, for they have brought disgrace upon their native Italy!" He turned away from his wife and child and faced torture and death with a light heart, rather than create a precedent fraught with ill for later times (5.13-56).

Nobility of the Regulus Ode

This ode is Horace's noblest. The contrast between the spirit of his own time and the spirit of the heroic age of the Republic is striking. Devotion to duty, Rome's highest virtue, is the ideal to which he appeals. The characteristics of the poem are well summed up by Andrew Lang in his *Letters to Dead Authors*: "None but a patriot could have sung that Ode on Regulus who died as our hero died on an evil day for the honor of Rome as Gordon for the honor of England. . . . We talk of the Greeks as your teachers. Your teachers they were but that poem could only have been written by a Roman. The strength, the tenderness, the noble and monumental resolution and resignation—these are the gifts of the lords of human things, the masters of the world."

The last ode of the series considers the reasons for the degeneracy of the times: the sins of his fathers shall be visited on the Roman, until he re-

pairs the ruined temples of the gods and restores the forgotten faith of an earlier time—his power depends on his humility towards heaven (6.1-8).

It was natural that Horace should recognize in the religious forms and beliefs of the past a salutary power to heal some of the evils of the present; but as far as he was concerned, they were only beautiful ornaments of his lyrical art which could move the deeper sympathies and charm the fancy of his contemporaries. And yet at times one detects gleams of natural piety; his usual scepticism seems to give way before the gods of the peasant worshipped in all the sincerity of a simple heart without imposing or elaborate ritual; as in one of his loveliest lyrics—the twenty-third of Book Three, addressed to a rustic Phidyle. Horace tells her how to propitiate the Lares and Penates. She is evidently poor, and he urges her to give of her poverty. Simple offerings of "rosemary and myrtle bough," brought to the altar with spotless hands, will be as acceptable as the costly victims of the rich.

In the odes of the fourth book the ideal is supposed to be realized. At the request of the prince, Horace resumes lyrical composition for the special purpose of celebrating the victories of Drusus and Tiberius, but he prefers to sing a panegyric on "Augustan Peace." His tone is more distinctly imperial than national. It is not Rome that is glorified but the imperial family.

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NOTES

- 1 J. Wight Duff, *A Literary History of Rome: From the Origins to the Close of the Golden Age*² (London 1910) 462.
2 W. Y. Sellar, *The Roman Poets of the Augustan Age: Horace and the Elegiac Poets* (Oxford 1891) 152. 3 Ibid. 154. 4 Horace and His Age: A Study in Historical Background (London 1917) 11.

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Thucydides on History As Philosophy

Perhaps the most familiar statement about history is the old saying that "history repeats itself"—usually referred as a matter of chronological record to Thucydides. A careful reading of this author, however, shows that in the prefatory statement of his purpose in writing of the Peloponnesian war (1.22.4), the passage regularly referred to in this connection, he even anticipates the popular misinterpretation of his real meaning.¹ History, he makes clear, does not repeat itself as in a treadmill, or even in cycles like those of Spengler, Nietzsche, and others, but only in accord with general patterns; from acquaintance, that is, with what has happened under certain conditions, valid inferences may well be drawn with respect to what may occur again *ceteris paribus* under similar conditions. He means the same sort of identity, in fact, which we find everywhere, even in the field of the strictest natural science, where the individuals included in a class or subsumed under a law are never exactly identical and may, indeed, vary even more widely than do different historical events.

For example, at the time when Rome was rushing to its fall, we find a period perhaps more like our own than any other in history, with a most realistic picture of the full-blown socialistic state and of a passion for state regulation of everything. Hence the question rises concerning the practical significance all this may have for us, that is, its possible educational value or function; and one familiar answer that has come down to us through the centuries since Thucydides is that given by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, buttressed by the alleged authority of Thucydides. Dionysius (*Rhet.* 399—Usener, p. 124) says: *παιδεία ἄρα ἐστὶν ἡ ἐντενθὺς τῶν ἡθῶν τοῦτο καὶ Θουκυδίδης εἰκοι λέγειν, περὶ ἱστορίας λέγων ὅτι καὶ ἱστορία φιλοσοφία ἐστὶν ἐκ παραδειγμάτων*. Interestingly, the Reiske Latin version of the quotation reads: *igitur doctrina est morum collectio; hoc etiam Thucydides asseverare visus est, historiam sic describens, quasi fit philosophia per exempla*. And an older English version is as follows: "The contact with manners then is education; and this Thucydides appears to assert when he says that history is philosophy learned from examples."²

Lord Bolingbroke and the Passage

The statement seems to have been brought into English first of all by Lord Bolingbroke, who quotes it, ostensibly from memory, in the second letter of his work *Letters on the Study and Use of History*—a series of learned epistles addressed to one of his colleagues—in which he says:³

Your Lordship may well be ready at this time, and after much bold censure on my part, to ask me what is the true use of history, in what respect it may serve to make us better and wiser, and what method is to be pursued in the study

(Continued on page 67)

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E D I T O R I A L

Archaeology Triumphant

Increasingly, ours is a day of archaeological triumph. The generosity of foundations (even though funds ever run behind the eager hopes of investigators), the availability of trained staff personnel, the high success of newer methods, the spectacular promises for purposes of finds-dating from Carbon-14—these and many other factors have brought about what the future may well designate “archaeology’s golden age in the second half of the twentieth century.”

Notable, too, is the intensified “layman’s interest” in the results of the scholar’s digging. Finds are “news-worthy,” even to the extent of front-page noting in metropolitan dailies. Nor need the discoveries be particularly sensational in character, of the type that earlier generations would have thought alone worthy of registry in the daily news sheets. Thus an Associated Press dispatch from Bordighera, Italy, dated February 11, 1955, spoke of two ancient Romans, “otherwise unknown to history,” who “have made their mark in world annals,” through discovery of their ashes in a tomb uncovered in the course of building operations. Epigraphical evidence at the site identified them as man and wife, Flavius Lucretianus and Julia Fuscina.

The same news agency, in a report dated March 5, 1955, from Pompeii, reported the discovery of the remains of a man and wife, the man holding “a small treasure in silver coins,” and the woman wearing “a bracelet, rings and earrings of gold.” The report continues: “With seven others of their family, they died huddled at a door of their fine home.” The conclusion says enthusiastically: “It was the first such find in nearly a century amid the

ruins where about 2000 of the town’s 20,000 people were trapped.”

Professional archaeologists themselves are finding more and more that their findings can be made intensely interesting to non-professional audiences. The same conviction has carried the popular journal *Archaeology*, organ of the Archaeological Institute of America, beside its soberer and more learned sister, *The American Journal of Archaeology*. Nor is there any feeling among archaeologists that such popularization of their discoveries will militate against the traditional strict scholarship of their discipline. Again, the sphere of archaeology seems constantly to be widening. Those whose interests have led them to a concentration upon the material remains of ancient Greece and ancient Rome are pleasantly surprised at the manifold other areas of additional ancient civilizations now being brought under the survey of specialists in those fields; and we in young America, both South and North, are coming to learn with deep interest of cultures existent within this hemisphere hundreds and even thousands of years before our own twentieth century.

In all this industrious work, there is obviously no room for the superficial hostility which, in the past, has occasionally flared between specialists in archaeology and specialists in philology. To the dispassionate observer in the domain of the classical languages and cultures, the two disciplines are inseparable—two faces, so to say, of the coin of the classical tradition. Archaeology is constantly supporting its finds, where it can, from the pages of extant ancient literature. And philology is finding many a passage it hitherto regarded as vexing or even incapable of understanding now made clear and meaningful from the light which archaeological research has been able to shed.

Philology, we may well believe, will continue its priceless task of interpreting and reweighing the thought-content of the ancient cultures of Greece and Rome. Archaeology, on its part, will with increasing diligence and expertness discover and explain the physical associations, varied and often awe-inspiring in their magnificence, within which the great thoughts of the masters of Greek and Roman literature were brought into being.

W. C. K.

Attic Comedy, as we have it in Aristophanes, is a public commentary on the every-day life of Athens, in great things and small.—*Jebb*.

The specific and central charm of Virgil lies deeper than in any merely technical quality. The word which expresses it most nearly is that of pity.—*Mackail*.

Thucydides on History As Philosophy

(Continued from page 65)

of it, for attaining these great ends? I will answer you by quoting what I think I have read somewhere, in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, I think, that history is philosophy teaching by examples.

We need but to cast our eyes on the world, and we shall see daily the force of example: we need but to turn them inward, and we shall soon discover why example has this force. *Pauci prudentia*, says Tacitus, *honesti ab deterioribus, utilia ab nocuis discernunt: plures aliorum eventis docentur*. Such is the imperfection of human understanding, such is the frail temper of our minds, that abstract or general propositions, though ever so true, appear obscure or doubtful to us very often, till they are explained; and that the wisest lessons in favor of virtue go but a little way to convince the judgment and determine the will unless they are enforced by the same means, and we are obliged to apply to ourselves what we see happen to other men. . . . *Homines amplius oculis, quam auribus, credunt; longum iter est per praecepta, breve et efficax per exempla*. The reason of this judgment, which I quote from one of Seneca's epistles in confirmation of my own opinion, rests, I think, on this, that when examples are pointed out to us, there is a kind of appeal with which we are flattered, made to our senses, as well as to our understanding.

Bolingbroke touches here on the importance of self-activity in the apprehension of various mental and aesthetic problems which modern psychology has regularly emphasized; but the most significant fact that emerges from this and further discussion in his work is that philosophy is rather *learned* from examples than his own one-sided formulation that it *teaches* by examples: and it seems that more than a quibble is involved in this distinction and in the personification and identification of history and philosophy, plus the ambiguity due to the lack of any qualifying verb in the Greek original.

Reiske's Faulty Version of Dionysius

Reiske's Latin translation, we may note in passing, does not seem to render the spirit of the original and in any case involves interpretation. Instead of *educatio* for *παιδεία*, Reiske uses *doctrina* in its secondary meaning as the subject-matter of education; this is made even clearer by Reiske's translation of *ἡ ἐκτενέσις* as *collectio*, and this, too, in its secondary meaning of "recapitulation" or *ἀνακεφαλαιώσις*. One can only venture to suggest that Reiske did not quite catch the meaning of Dionysius.

In my attempt to determine just what Thucydides himself actually said, and possibly to elucidate further the ambiguity involved, the remarkable fact emerged that there is no passage in Thucydides' work that might serve as a basis for the alleged quotation or allusion by Dionysius; indeed, a thorough search of Thucydides fails to reveal a single occurrence of the word *φιλοσοφία*. The passage above quoted (1.22.4) gives us, of course, the suggestion that historical events may be the source of an inductive philosophy of history; but there is no hint anywhere of any logically preconceived view of some personification like Clio or the *ἀνάγκη* of Anaximander, manifesting itself through examples

by means of which it *teaches*, which is, of course, the tacit imaginative interpretation of the phrase in either sense. Apart from this, the relationship of history and philosophy has been subject recently to identification by H. Rickert (for whom events are as *einmalig* or unique in their occurrence as the conditions upon which they are dependent); but especially by the Italian philosopher Benedetto Croce. The fuller understanding of Croce involves a difficult technical analysis, but, for our present purpose, a brief non-technical outline may suffice.

History As "Action" and "Action Thought"

History has, for Croce, two aspects: on the one hand it is action, while on the other it is thinking that action, whether antecedently, concomitantly, or in subsequent reflection. Men *make* history by their actions, but at the same time they are more or less conscious of what they are doing. This is the description of history in any present, living experience. Moreover, in reflection, we extend history backward in both of its aspects, making them then present in the completer thought of the immediate present action. We relive the past in the present only in so far as we project or feel into it by means of what Lipps called *Einfühlung* or appreciation for its intrinsic value for the present with which it now becomes unified.

The appreciation of chivalry and the deeds of belted knights is possible only in so far as the spirit of that epoch abides as an echo in ourselves, which unifies us with it; the spirit of chivalry is then not dead. History is the life of the past functioning freely in the living present of the individual or his social group in varying degrees, although, to be sure, there are levels of humanity where the historical consciousness is minimal or totally absent. That is, after all, the significance of interest in genealogy, family, and community honor; patriotism, and the like, of the individual who is not so lawless and anti-social as to be "too proud to care from whence I came."

Appeals to the spirit of an historical document like the Constitution of the United States may indicate the historical yearning for unification with the larger whole, the sense of *esprit de corps*. The intrinsic spirit of that document, which is history living in the immediate present, may bring on reflection a realization of Magna Carta, which itself, as Montesquieu⁴ pointed out, came from the German Forest; and it may dominate our own deeds as philosophy functioning in the immediate present with that present itself reflecting on philosophy and determining its fuller, ever-increasing meaning by virtue of the special factors of reaction in the example.

"The spirit," as Croce says, "carries with it the whole of its history" in its distinguishable but in-

separable aspects, the expression of the individual in the life of the past, the continuous functioning of history in the immediate present, living action. In this connection, Croce emphasizes that the spirit of humanism did not first arise in northern Europe when Italian humanism first became known in the North, as is maintained in philological history; it was already present in the noble dissatisfaction with the situation in which humanity found itself, together with an unsatisfied yearning for more adequate expression of its spiritual needs, just as the mute populace at any epoch finds expression for its needs in genuine inspired leaders in various fields—in the language of Matthew Arnold “the children of the ideal” who sit closer to reality than the “children of the *status quo*.”

History and the Living Present

In more popular terms, Croce's meaning might be illustrated by the development of an individual under the guidance and control of the spirit of his family philosophy, itself a manifestation of his province, his nation, and his epoch, under the determination of the living past of that present in free action and reaction, in so far as the very essence of the spirit of humanity is freedom or salvation.⁵

Any philosophical proposition, according to Croce, arises in the soul of a given individual at a specific point of time and space, determined by historic conditions. Kant, for example, could not have written the *Kritik of Pure Reason* at the time of Pericles; since his thinking presupposes the development of natural science, the Renaissance, geographical discoveries, the scepticism of Hume, and so on. In fact, though Croce does not mention it, we may be sure that if Kant had rewritten the first *Kritik* after completing the third, he would have produced an essentially different work. Any philosopher who should be able to ignore the history of philosophy would produce only primitive anachronisms, such as occurred when naturalism rediscovered the atomic philosophy of Democritus. All the history of philosophy that is alive functions in immediate present action and is associated with living history involved in the action. In short, while history and philosophy, for didactic purposes, are treated regularly as separate, they are, according to Croce, inseparable aspects of one and the same living present.⁶

Croce distinguishes from history proper as thus described three forms of pseudo-history, namely *philological*, *poetic*, and *rhetorical* history. Philological history is, as we have already noticed, concerned especially with documents that aim to explain with a scientific frame of reference the emergence of various historical movements or moments without consideration of the fact that the impulse to these movements existed long before the overt expression revealed in the documentary evidence; the longing of

an epoch for improvement and change became crystallized with the discovery and development of cultural interests corresponding to its dimly adumbrated ideals. “We look before and after and sigh for what is not,” as Shelley puts it, and knowledge comes, if it does, as a sort of Platonic ἀνάμνησις.

History, “Philological, Poetical, Rhetorical, Educative”

Poetic history, with its emphasis on aesthetic and sentimental values, represents reaction against the extremes of philological scientific history, while rhetorical or *practicistical* history is interested primarily in economic and practical ends. History proper is strictly none of these, but exclusively the interest of thought and reflection, that is, it is philosophy in the broadest sense of this term, which includes ultimately all these interests, taking, as Bacon said, all knowledge for its province and knowledge itself as power.⁷

As against these, educative history, histories composed with the idea of promoting definite, practical, and moral dispositions, do exist; and every Italian knows how those effects in the period of the Risorgimento were produced by the histories of Colletta, Balbo, and their ilk; everybody is also acquainted with books that have “inspired” him or “inculcated” in him love of his own country, of his own town and church spire. This moral efficacy which pertains to morality and not to history has preoccupied minds so forcibly that the prejudice still persists of assigning to history (and to poetry as well) a moral function in the field of pedagogy. If, however, we understand the word *history* as history that is thought and also as histories which are poetry, philology, and moral will, it is clear that history will enter the education process not under one of these alone but under all the forms mentioned: nevertheless, as history proper, under one only, which is not that of moral education, taken exclusively and abstractly, but of the education or development of thought.

According to Croce, then, history and philosophy are identical; but in a profounder sense, perhaps, than Dionysius of Halicarnassus suspected; and whether or not Thucydides said or suggested this to him, history indeed appears as philosophy learning and teaching by the examples it creates.

Brentwood, Tennessee

Herbert Sanborn

NOTES

- 1 The passage in Thucydides (1.22.4) is as follows: καὶ ἐξ μὲν ἀκρόασις ἴσως τὸ μὴ μυθῶδες αὐτῶν ἀτερεπέστερον φαίνεται· ὅσοι δὲ βουλῆσονται τῶν τε γενομένων τὸ σαφές σκοπεῖν καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ποτὲ αὐθις κατὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον τοιοῦτων καὶ παραπλησίων εἶσεσθαι, ἀφέλιμα κρίνειν αὐτὴν ἀκούωντος ἔξει. κτῆμα τε ἐξ αἰεὶ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀγώνισμα ἐξ ἡ παραχρῆμα ἀκούειν ξύγνεται. 2 John Bartlett, revised, *Familiar Quotations*¹¹ (Boston 1937) 200, and n. 1. 3 (Edinburgh 1777) 25-26. 4 *De l'esprit des lois* (Paris 1869) XI 152. 5 Benedetto Croce, *Teoria e storia* (Bari 1927) 3-17. 6 *Id. Logica* (Bari 1909) “Identità di filosofia e storia,” 205-227. 7 *Id. Teoria e storia* (supra, n. 6) 9-36.

Breviora

Deaths among Classicists, III

Carl Darling Buck, professor emeritus of classical philology at The University of Chicago since 1933, died in Chicago on February 8, 1955, at the age of eighty-eight years. Outstanding in the field of linguistics, Professor Buck had been graduated from Yale in 1886 and had studied later at the University of Leipzig. He was one of the four surviving members of the first faculty at The University of Chicago, and had been continuously active in his field as teacher and scholar.

Ludwig Curtius, director of the German Archaeological Institute in Rome from 1928 to 1937, and with prior faculty connections at Munich, Erlanger, Freiburg, and Heidelberg, died in Rome on April 10, 1954, at the age of almost eighty years. His many honors included honorary membership in the Accademia dei Lincei and the Accademia Pontificia di Archaeologia, and his interests included Oriental, Egyptian, Greek, Greco-Roman, and Roman art. His activities continued throughout his late years, and he had been scheduled to deliver on April 21, 1954, on the occasion of the hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of the German Archaeological Institute, a festival lecture on "Griechische Götterideale."

George Harold Edgell, director of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, died in Newport, New Hampshire, on June 29, 1954, at the age of sixty-seven years. A native of Saint Louis, Missouri, Dr. Edgell took a doctorate at Harvard, in 1913. His scholastic career included a post in the department of fine arts, at Harvard, from 1912 to 1935, with a professorship in the department for the last ten years of the period. His publications were largely in the fields of Italian art and the history of architecture.

George Deque Hadzits, professor emeritus of Latin at the University of Pennsylvania, died on June 9, 1954, at the age of eighty-one years. His life was that of a tireless teacher and enthusiastic scholar; his many interests included that of the history and interpretation of ancient Epicurean philosophy, particularly as expounded by the Roman Lucretius. With Professor David M. Robinson (now at the University of Mississippi) he was co-editor of the series *Our Debt to Greece and Rome*, running to some forty-five volumes.

Ida Thallon Hill, wife of Bert Hodge Hill, director emeritus of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, died at sea on December 14, 1954, while returning to Greece from a visit in America. Mrs. Hill had taught at Vassar from 1901 to 1924. She had been married to Dr. Hill in 1924, and had resided from that time on in Athens; she was known both as an archaeologist and an authoress.

Allan Chester Johnson, professor of classical languages at Princeton University, and a member of the department for thirty-seven years, died on March 2, 1955, at the age of seventy-three years. Professor Johnson was especially known for his extensive work in the translation of ancient papyri, reflecting the civilizations of Egypt, Greece, and Rome.

Herbert Edward Mierow, first incumbent of the Moses Clement Gile chair of classics at Colorado College, died in Colorado Springs on November 15, 1954, at the age of sixty-three years. His academic degrees were from Princeton University; there, over the entrance to McCosh Hall, are carved verses from his hand. Professor Mierow retired from Colorado College, after a service of twenty-five years, in 1943, though he continued to reside in Colorado Springs. Surviving him in the same city is his brother, Charles Christopher Mierow, a frequent contributor to THE CLASSICAL BULLETIN, and director emeritus of the department of biography at Carleton College.

Henry Charles Oldfather, professor of ancient history at the University of Nebraska since 1926, and chairman of the department from 1929 to 1946, died on August 20, 1954, at the age of sixty-seven years. Born in Tabriz, Iran, he took a doctorate at the University of Wisconsin in 1922. Besides the University of Nebraska, where his services included the deanship of the College of Arts and Sciences since 1932, Professor Oldfather had taught at the Syrian Protestant College, Hanover College, and Wabash College. His scholarly interests included the Greek literary papyri from Greco-Roman Egypt.

Charles L. Sherman, a member of the faculty at Amherst College since 1929, died at Amherst, on December 22, 1954, at the age of sixty years. A member of The Classical Association of New England, he was at the time of his death professor of history and political science; he had been professor of Latin until 1933. He had taught also at Ohio Wesleyan and Harvard Universities.

Alice Walton, professor emerita of Latin at Wellesley College, died on January 27, 1954, at the age of eighty-nine years. A native of Lawrence, Massachusetts, Miss Walton had received the doctorate from Cornell University in 1892. Her faculty association with Wellesley extended over thirty-seven years, from 1896 to 1933, and included the fields of ancient art, archaeology, and Latin.

Mars Westington, director of the department of classical languages and literature at Hanover College, died on November 10, 1954, at the age of fifty-five years. Long an active classicist in state, regional, and national circles, Professor Westington had endeared himself to his many friends and associates by his unfailing good nature, his urbanity, and his enthusiasm. He was notably interested in *carmina Latina*, and on numberless occasions served as director of Latin song at classical assemblies.

Monroe N. Wetmore, professor emeritus of Latin at Williams College, died at the college infirmary on November 18, 1954, at the age of ninety-one years. Former editor for New England of *The Classical Journal*, and president of The Classical Association of New England in 1935-1936, Professor Wetmore was a graduate of Yale University. His long association with Williams College extended from 1904 until his retirement in 1932. Prior to 1904, he had been assistant principal at Naugatuck (Connecticut) High School and associate principal at Harrisburg (Pennsylvania) Academy.

Meetings of Classical Interest, III

Greek Plays: Among many college performances of classical plays, the following have been brought to the attention of THE CLASSICAL BULLETIN: on February 18 and 19, 1955, a presentation of the *Electra* of Sophocles, by the Marymount Players, Marymount College, Salina, Kansas. Euripides' *Electra* is scheduled to be given on May 14 and 15, 1955, in the outdoor Greek theatre on the campus of the College of Saint Elizabeth, Convent Station, New Jersey.

April 15-16, 1955: Twenty-seventh National Convention of *Eta Sigma Phi*, national undergraduate honorary classical fraternity, with Beta Nu Chapter, Mary Washington College, Fredericksburg, Virginia, serving as host. National President of *Eta Sigma Phi* is Jack Roberts, of Gamma Alpha Chapter, a senior at Indiana State Teachers College (Terre Haute). National Executive Secretary is Professor Graydon W. Regenos, Tulane University.

April 16, 1955: French Institute at *Maryville College* (Saint Louis), morning and afternoon, with an invitation to foreign language instructors generally. Émile B. de Sauze, director emeritus of the Modern Languages School at Western Reserve University, will speak on "A Pedagogical and Psychological Basis for a French Course in Elementary and in Secondary Schools."

June 23-25, 1955: Eighth Annual Latin Institute of the *American Classical League*, at the State University of Iowa, Iowa City. President of the ACL is Van L. Johnston of Tufts College; Secretary-Treasurer is Henry C. Montgomery, Miami University (Oxford, Ohio). Frank C. Bourne of Princeton University is program chairman for the Institute; Gerald F. Else and Clarence S. White, State University of Iowa, are co-chairmen of the committee on local arrangements. Immediately after the Institute (on June 27) the State University of Iowa will open its Latin Workshop. A special program entitled "What's To Be Done?" is planned for this day.

June 26-28, 1955: Second National Convention of the *Junior Classical League*, at Iowa State Teachers College (Cedar Falls—a hundred miles northwest of Iowa City). President is Jack Page, Webster Groves (Missouri) High School; Secretary is Lucy Collins, of Waco, Texas.

June 20—August 12, 1955: Linguistic Institute at *Georgetown University*, sponsored by the Linguistic Society of America and the Georgetown Institute of Languages and Linguistics. Archibald A. Hill, secretary-treasurer of the Linguistic Society of America and faculty member at Georgetown, will be Director; W. Freeman Twaddell of Brown University will be Associate Director.

June 20—August 13, 1955: Thirteenth Linguistic Institute, at the *University of Michigan*, under the sponsorship of the Linguistic Society of America and the University of Michigan. Albert H. Marckwardt of the University of Michigan will be Director; William G. Moulton of Cornell University will be Associate Director.

June 27-28, 1955: Sixteenth Annual Latin Teachers' Institute, sponsored by the department of classical languages

of Saint Louis University. General theme for the three scheduled sessions will be "Latin for Coming Augmented Enrollments." Visiting lecturer will be Dorrance S. White, of the State University of Iowa, whose two addresses will be as follows: "Emphases in Latin for the Coming Years" and "Investigations into Less Known Classical Writings."

June 27—July 16: Seventeenth Session of the Annual Summer Institute on the Teaching of Latin, at the *College of William and Mary*. A. Pelzer Wagener will serve as Director; with him on the staff will be George J. Ryan of the College of William and Mary and Grace A. Crawford, of the Hartford (Connecticut) Public High School. Several special lectures will be given by Henry T. Rowell of Johns Hopkins University, president of the Archaeological Institute of America.

June 27—August 20, 1955: Linguistic Institute at The University of Chicago, under the joint sponsorship of the Linguistic Society of America and the University of Chicago. George J. Metcalf of The University of Chicago will be Director; Fang-Kuei Li of the University of Washington will be Vice-Director.

August 4-11, 1955: Joint Meeting of *British Greek and Roman Societies*—Hellenic Society, Roman Society, Classical Association, British School at Athens, British School at Rome—in Rhodes House, Oxford, according to preliminary announcement by the Secretary of the Joint Committee, Louise B. Turner, of Berkhamsted, Hertfordshire.

Presenting a United Front

"It is my conviction," says Emilie Margaret White (*CJ* 50 [January 1955] 148), "that the cause of all language is one. . . . We cannot hope to establish desirable programs of lasting strength until we cease to pull in opposite directions and until all of us are ready to admit our inter-dependence and to pull together with a will toward a common goal."

Such a united front in action is presented by the Interlanguage Teachers' Committee of Greater Chicago (ILTCGC). Its membership is composed of the president and a permanent delegate from each of the foreign language teaching groups or clubs in Greater Chicago's area. Latin is represented on this committee by the president of the Chicago Classical Club, by a delegate from the Club, a 1 by the public relations director of the Illinois Classical Conference.

The chairman of this ILTCGC is Dr. Elfriede Ackermann, an undergraduate Latin major, a Ph.D. in modern languages and a teacher of German, and the retiring principal of Von Steuben High School, Chicago. The vice-chairman is Dr. D. Herbert Abel, professor of Latin at Loyola University and public relations director of the Illinois Classical Conference. The secretary is Miss Mary Joan Minerva, Italian instructor at Von Steuben High School; the treasurer is Dr. George Drossos, teacher of modern Greek at Austin High School, Chicago. Its officers, therefore, come from the high school and college ranks in both classical and modern languages.

The ILTCGC publishes a news letter, the *Interlinguist*, edited by Mr. David Bush, teacher of Hebrew, and a yearly calendar of events of interest in the language fields. The Committee is also sending delegates to the meetings of UKFLC at Lexington, Kentucky. Its all-over purpose is to secure just such united cooperation in foreign language teaching problems as Miss White declared was necessary to the survival of all foreign language in American education.

D. Herbert Abel

Loyola University of Chicago

Elections—APA-AIA

Officers of the American Philological Association elected at Boston at the Eighty-sixth Annual Meeting, December 26-28, 1954, included the following: *president*, Harry Caplan, Cornell University; *first vice-president*, George Eckel Duckworth, Princeton University; *second vice-president*, C. Bradford Wells, Yale University; *secretary-treasurer*, the incumbent, Paul Lachlan MacKendrick, University of Wisconsin; *editor*, the incumbent, Francis Redding Walton, Florida State University. The APA annual Award of Merit was made to Benjamin D. Meritt, H. T. Wade-Gery, and Malcolm F. McGregor, "on the completion of the fourth and final volume of their monumental *Athenian Tribute Lists*."

At the same joint meeting, officers were elected by the Archaeological Institute of America, including the following: *president*, the incumbent, Henry T. Rowell, Johns Hopkins University; *vice-president*, Carl W. Blegen, University of Cincinnati; *general secretary*, Cedric Boulter,

University of Cincinnati. Professor Boulter's election entails a moving of the central offices of the Institute from Cambridge to Cincinnati, where his address will be: 608 Library Building, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati 21, Ohio. The date of the move was set at March 23. Local societies of the AIA, and other groups and persons dealing with the organization, will recall with gratitude the courtesies of the Cambridge office, of past general secretaries, and of the assistant secretary, Lois B. Jones, who is now terminating her services. The new assistant secretary will be Miss Estelle Hunt.

Book Reviews

George E. Ganss, S.J., *Saint Ignatius' Idea of a Jesuit University: a Study in the History of Catholic Education*. Milwaukee, Marquette University Press, 1954. Pp. xx, 368; 32 illustrations. \$5.50.

This excellent and long-wanted book is occasioned by the development of educational institutions in the United States under the direction of the Society of Jesus and is a study of earlier Jesuit practices and ideals in their social and intellectual context, with a view to improving adjustments to the changed context of our present day.

Father Ganss's most thorough treatment is given to what he explains is his special field: the teaching of Latin. He describes the radically utilitarian objectives of Renaissance Latin teaching: this was the language in which even the elementary school textbooks were written (including the Latin grammars themselves), and the normal language of the whole para-academic and professional world—mathematics, physics, medicine, law, theology, and international politics, not to mention philology itself. The all but total specialization in Latin in the elementary school (even fluency in Greek was a velleity rather than an accomplishment in the average Renaissance student) and the "direct method" favored in Latin teaching are historically explained in admirable detail.

If one were to object to anything in the book it would be to something which the author himself says he regrets: the fact that presuppositions common today about certain other aspects of the early Jesuit curricula cannot be corrected as vigorously and circumstantially as are the presuppositions about Latin teaching. For example, throughout the book an association of philosophy specifically with theology peculiar to a much later age is imputed to Renaissance times, when, as a matter of fact, the same philosophy course followed by pre-theological students was followed, for example, by pre-medical students, too, and for purposes felt as *medical* rather than as specifically theological. Indeed, historically it had been largely the medical rather than the theological tradition which had maintained philosophy as a separate discipline: by comparison with physicians, medieval theologians had regularly minimized arts course (philosophy) training.

Of the many conclusions which become clear in this book, two might be specially mentioned. First, an adequate understanding not only of Jesuit education but of the whole Renaissance mind is impossible without some approach through the Latin in which everyone everywhere in Europe received practically all his formal education, linguistic, scientific, and other. Secondly, in the United States today, the educational effort at the college and university level being made by the Society of Jesus and by those associated with the Jesuits not only involves new subjects and new approaches, but also is being directed to students at a level of maturity far higher than anything Saint Ignatius explicitly envisioned—and this in the humanities themselves, and most notably in courses in Christian doctrine (for Saint Ignatius, the only formal school course in "religion," apart from professional theological training, was the elementary-school catechism). Awareness of such facts is a condition of future achievement. In this sense, Father Ganss's opening motto, quoted by him from the inscription at the entrance to the National Archives in Washington, is eminently applicable: "What is past is prologue: study the past."

Walter J. Ong, S.J.

Saint Louis University

Selatie Edgar Stout, *Scribe and Critic at Work in Pliny's Letters: Notes on the History and the Present Status of the Text*. Bloomington, Indiana University Press (Indiana University Publications: Humanities Series, no. 30), 1954. Pp. xiv, 272; paper cover. \$7.50.

Despite their great importance for an understanding of the history and administration of the Roman empire during the last half of the first century and the first twelve or thirteen years of the second, Pliny's letters seem not to have been popular in antiquity. Tertullian is the only extant author who makes any reference to them before the fifth century. It is certain, however, that they were preserved in a nine-book collection of *Epistulae ad Amicos* and a separate one-book volume of his correspondence with the emperor Trajan. Two copies of the nine-book corpus which, like the autograph, is no longer in existence, gave rise to all of the existing manuscripts of the first nine books of the *Epistulae*. In an article in *TAPA* 55 (1924) 62-67, Professor Stout maintained that one of these copies gave rise to what are now known as the nine-book and the eight-book families of manuscripts. The other copy in the late fifth century was joined to the correspondence of Trajan and gave rise to the ten-book family of manuscripts.

The arguments for the common origin of the eight-book and the nine-book families are convincingly restated. It is also shown that a common reading from these manuscripts is to be preferred to a reading of the ten-book tradition. In his first chapter, Mr. Stout shows how "careless and unscientific evaluation of the individual sources for the text of these *Letters* has caused most of differences in the text of modern editions" (p. 11). In the second chapter, errors which can be ascribed to the monks who copied the manuscripts are explored; and in the third, the critic is seen making his contributions to the textual confusion. The final chapter discusses disputed readings of the first nine books. I can only presume that variant readings of the tenth book are not discussed in this chapter because of its dependence upon a single manuscript tradition.

In this monograph Mr. Stout has given to the world the wisdom of nearly a lifetime spent on a problem of no slight difficulty. He has furnished all the background for the definitive edition of the *Epistulae*. But more than that, he has given a superb illustration of the proper methods to be employed in textual criticism. Those who have had some experience in the art will profit greatly by his penetrating analysis of the readings and his solutions to the problems. Those who have had no such experience will none the less be able to follow his clear, orderly, and interesting presentation of the matter. For anyone who is editing or translating an ancient author for publication, the book should be required reading.

M. Joseph Costelloe, S.J.

Saint Stanislaus Seminary,
Florissant, Missouri

P. Maurice Hill, *The Poems of Sappho*. New York, Philosophical Library, 1954. Pp. xiv, 73, xv-xxii. \$6.00.

The present limited edition, rather handsomely printed for the Philosophical Library in Great Britain by Guido Morris in collaboration with Worden (Printers), Limited, Marazion, is a posthumous publication, its author, P. Maurice Hill, having died on August 2, 1952. Intended, seemingly, for the general reader rather than the specialist, it omits sundry of the scholarly appurtenances one would otherwise seek to find. A subhead remarks that the slender volume contains "nearly all the fragments from the restored Greek texts."

The Greek text itself, facing the translations in rhythmic prose, is unusually clear and attractive. The translations, for those content to have Sappho's lines in other than regular English verse, are uniformly well done, though in no sense uniformly inspired. Occasionally the English seems a bit vigorous for the Greek original: as in Hill's frag. 39 (p. 29) and his frag. 76.18 (p. 63). In his frag. 61 (p. 53), *ῥαδίνω* seems oddly to be taken with *Ἀποδίνω* rather than with *αἰδοῦ*. Hill's Greek text (p. xxii) is principally that of J. M. Edmonds, *Lyra Graeca* (London 1922) I, "sometimes with slight modifications from other sources." In one case, his frag. 35 (pp. 24-29), Hill omits all indication of preserved text and restoration, remarking that so much of the ode "is conjectural that the translator has deemed it best, for the sake of easier reading, to put the reconstructed text as above."

But, again, the obvious thought of the general rather than the scholarly reader is here in mind. Somewhat more puzzling, however, is Hill's complete omission of standard numberings of the fragments. He has employed his own numberings only—one through ninety-five, grouped under eight headings: invocation, love poems, companions, Atthis, nature poems, Hector and Andromache, general poems, biographical poems. The introduction (pp. ix-xiv) deals with

ancient *testimonia* to the poetess; the appendices (pp. xvii-xxii) include notes on the translations, classical appreciation of Sappho, acknowledgments, and a bibliography.

Some readers will wish the translator had ventured into an occasional English reproduction of the original meters, especially the sapphic strophe. Yet the volume will find a deserved place in the all too limited literature on the great Lesbian poetess.

William Charles Korfmacher

Saint Louis University

Index to Volume 31

Contents: Articles, A; Editorials, E; Poem, P; Reviews, R; Short Notes (including *Breviora*), S. Arabic numerals indicate pages.

ARTICLES

Character Analysis of Dido, 53, 56-57 (Killeen). Classical Echoes from the South, 1-2 (Kaiser). Classics at Home in General Education, 27-29 (Martin). Classics Rehabilitative, 31 (Gillett). Cleveland Manuscript of the *Alexandreis*, 25-27 (Meyer). Dido in Vergil and Chaucer, 29, 32-35 (Doherty). Dog-Slaying at the Argive Sheep Festival, 61-62 (Russell). For a New Joining of Language Forces, 40-41, 43 (Withers). Francesco Petrarca, Lover of Learning, 3-5, 7 (Mierow). Guest-Friendship in Greek Tragedy, 49-51, 52, 55-56 (Regenos). Horace, Serious Reformer, 62-65 (Bourgeois). In the Steps of Horace at Rome, 37-39 (Sullivan). Latin in the Primary Parochial School, 16-17 (Abel). Magnificent Equation, 13-16, 20-21 (Kramer). Meditating upon Homer, 8-9 (Beyenka). Superiority of Roman Censorship, 41, 43-44 (Costelloe). Thucydides on History As Philosophy, 65, 67-68 (Sanborn). Vivamus, Mea Lesbia, 19, 21 (Grummel).

EDITORIALS (Korfmacher)

Archaeology Triumphant, 66. Little Latin—Even Late, 42. No Other Reward, 18. Speech for True Communication, 54. Time Counts, Then and Now, 30. To Hold the Lines in Foreign Languages, 6.

POEM

Sperat Ineptus, 7 (Kelly).

REVIEWS

William Hardy Alexander, *Maius Opus (Aeneid 7-12)*, 59-60 (Costelloe); *The Tacitean "Non Liquet" on Seneca*, 59-60 (Costelloe). André-Jean Festugière, O.P., *Personal Religion among the Greeks*, 11 (Costelloe). George E. Ganss, S.J., *Saint Ignatius' Idea of a Jesuit University*, 70 (Ong). A. W. Gomme, *The Greek Attitude to Poetry and History*, 23-24 (Costelloe). S. J. Grabowski, *The All-Present God*, 47 (Rozsályi). P. Maurice Hill, *The Poems of Sappho*, 71 (Korfmacher). Cora Mason, *Socrates: the Man Who Dared to Ask*, 11 (Korfmacher). Herbert A. Musurillo, S.J., *The Acts of the Pagan Martyrs; Acta Alexandrinorum*, 59 (Costelloe). Dan S. Norton and Peters Rushton, *Classical Myths in English Literature*, 23 (Haworth). James H. Oliver, *The Ruling Power*, 23 (Costelloe). David M. Robinson, *A Hoard of Silver Coins from Curystus*, 59 (Costelloe); "Unpublished Greek Gold Jewelry and Gems" (*AJA* 57 [January 1953] 5-19), 59 (Costelloe). Hedwig Schleiffer and Ruth Crandall, *Index to Economic History Essays in Festschriften*, 47 (Dow). Aemilius Springhetti, S.J., *Institutiones Stili Latini*, 36 (Guentner). Selatie Edgar Stout, *Scribe and Critic at Work in Pliny's Letters*, 70-71 (Costelloe). Waldo F. Sweet, *The Latin Workshop's Experimental Materials, Book Two (Latin)*, 11 (Hunleth). H. Wagenvoort, *Roman Dynamism*, 22-23 (McKemie). Harold Watkins, *Time Counts*, 47 (Korfmacher). Sir Leonard Woolley, *Spadework in Archaeology*, 36 (Costelloe).

SHORT NOTES (including *Breviora*)

Addenda on Journals and Brochures, 45. Ad Sanctum Augustinum, 7. ALA Contest—"Why I Teach," 59. Among Scholarships Offered, 11. Baird Memorial Latin Contest, 1955, 45-46 (Henderson). Books Received, 12; 48. Call from the ITCGC, 35 (Abel). Certamen Capitolinum VI, 9 (Tosatti). Church of Santa Maria Antiqua Reopened, 51 (Haworth). Consistent Vigor of Eta Sigma Phi, 46. Deaths among Classicists, I, 9; II, 44; III, 69. Elections—APA-AIA, 70. Eta Sigma Phi Contests for 1955, 9-10. High School Latin Contest Winners, 53. Historians As Tragedians in Narrating Disaster, 58 (Dych). Horatian Echo? 22 (Kaiser). Index to Volume 31, 71-72. Journals and Brochures, Old and New, 10-11. Latin Contest Winners, 22. Legentibus Universis in Die Christi Natalicii Salutatio, 19.

LSA Christmas Meeting, 22. Meetings of Classical Interest, I, 9; II, 45; III, 69-70. Note on Minucius Felix, Octavius, 2.4, 22 (Meyer). Pax—Romana et Christiana, 22 (Dych). Plea for a "Mediaeval and Renaissance" Series, 46 (Kaiser). Practical Use of *Interlingua*, 22. Presenting a United Front, 70 (Abel). Punctuation Changes in Lucretius 2.20-31, 46-47 (Zimmermann). Quomodo Mare Factum Sit Salsum, 58 (Kaiser). *Raison d'être* for Festschriften? 35 (Dow). To a Veteran! 35. Vergilian Society and Summer School, 58-59.

CONTRIBUTORS

D. Herbert Abel: Call from the ITCGC, S, 35. Latin in the Primary Parochial Schools, A, 16-17. Presenting a United Front, S, 70. Sister M. Melchior Beyenka, O.P.: Meditating upon Homer, A, 8-9. Mother Mercedes Bourgeois, R.S.C.J.: Horace, Serious Reformer, A, 62-65. M. Joseph Costelloe, S.J.: William Hardy Alexander, *Maius Opus* (Aeneid 7-12), R, 59-60; *The Tacitean "Non Liquet"* on Seneca, R, 59-60. André-Jean Festugière, O.F., *Personal Religion among the Greeks*, R, 11. T. C. Lethbridge, *The Painted Men*, R, 36. Herbert A. Musurillo, S.J., *The Acts of the Pagan Martyrs; Acta Alexandrinorum*, R, 59. James H. Oliver, *The Ruling Power*, R, 23. David M. Robinson, *A Hoard of Silver Coins from Carystus*, R, 59; "Unpublished Greek Gold Jewelry and Gems" (AJA 57 [January 1953] 5-19), R, 59. Selatie Edgar Stout, *Scribe and Critic at Work in Pliny's Letters*, R, 70-71. Superiority of Roman Censorship, A, 41, 43-44. Sir Leonard Woolley, *Spadework in Archaeology*, R, 36. Kevin Francis Doherty, S.J.: Dido in Vergil and Chaucer, A, 29, 32-35. Sterling Dow: *Raison d'être* for Festschriften? S, 35. Hedwig Schleiffer and Ruth Crandall, *Index to Economic History Essays in Festschriften*, R, 47. William Vincent Dych, S.J.: Historians As Tragedians in Narrating Disaster, S, 58. Pax—Romana et Christiana, S, 32. Myrtle Mann Gillett: Classics Rehabilitative, A, 31. William Charles Grummel: Vivamus, Mea Lesbia, A, 19, 21. Francis J. Guentner, S.J.: Aemilius Springhetti, S.J., *Institutiones Stili Latini*, R, 36. Marcus Anthony Haworth, S.J.: Church of Santa Maria Antiqua Reopened, S, 51. Dan S. Norton and Peters Rushton, *Classical Myths in English Literature*, R, 23. Charles Henderson, Jr.: Baird Memorial Latin Contest, 1955, S, 45-46. Francis Charles Hunleth, S.J.: Waldo F. Sweet, *The Latin Workshop's Experimental Materials*, Book Two (Latin), R, 11. Leo Max Kaiser: Classical Echoes from the South, A, 1-2. Horatian Echo? S, 22. Plea for a "Mediaeval and Renaissance" Series, S, 46. Quomodo Mare Factum Sit Salsum, S, 58. Robert Gerard Kelly, S.J.: Sperat Ineptus, P, 7. Sister M. Loretta Margaret Killen, I.H.M.: Character Analysis of Dido, A, 53, 56-57. William Charles Korfmacher: Archaeology Triumphant, E, 66. P. Maurice Hill, *The Poems of Sappho*, R, 71. Little Latin—Even Late, E, 42. Cora Mason, *Socrates: the Man Who Dared to Ask*, R, 11. No Other Reward, E, 18. Speech for True Communication, E, 54. Time Counts, Then and Now, E, 30. To Hold the Lines in Foreign Languages, E, 6. Harold Watkins, *Time Counts*, R, 47. Frank R. Kramer: Magnificent Equation, A, 13-16, 20-21. Sister Marie Antoinette Martin, C.S.J.: Classics at Home in General Education, A, 27-28. Hubert Henry McKemie, S.J.: H. Wagenvoort, *Roman Dynamism*, R, 22-23. Robert T. Meyer: Cleveland Manuscript of the *Alexandreis*, A, 25-27. Note on Minucius Felix, *Octavius* 2.4, S, 22. Charles Christopher Mierow: Francesco Petrarca, Lover of Learning, A, 3-5, 7. William J. Ong, S.J.: George E. Ganss, S.J., *Saint Ignatius' Idea of a Jesuit University*, R, 70. Graydon W. Regenos: Guest-Friendship in Greek Tragedy, A, 49-51, 52, 55-56. Francis L. Rozsály, S.P.: S. J. Grabowski, *The All-Present God*, R, 47. Harris L. Russell: Dog-Slaying at the Argive Sheep Festival, A, 61-62. Herbert Sanborn: Thucydides on History As Philosophy, A, 65, 67-68. Francis A. Sullivan, S.J.: In the Steps of Horace at Rome, A, 37-39. Quintus Tosatti: Certamen Capitolinum VI, S, 9. A. M. Withers: For a New Joining of Language Forces, A, 40-41, 43. Odo J. Zimmermann, O.B.S.: Punctuation Changes in Lucretius 2.20-31, S, 46-47.

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